

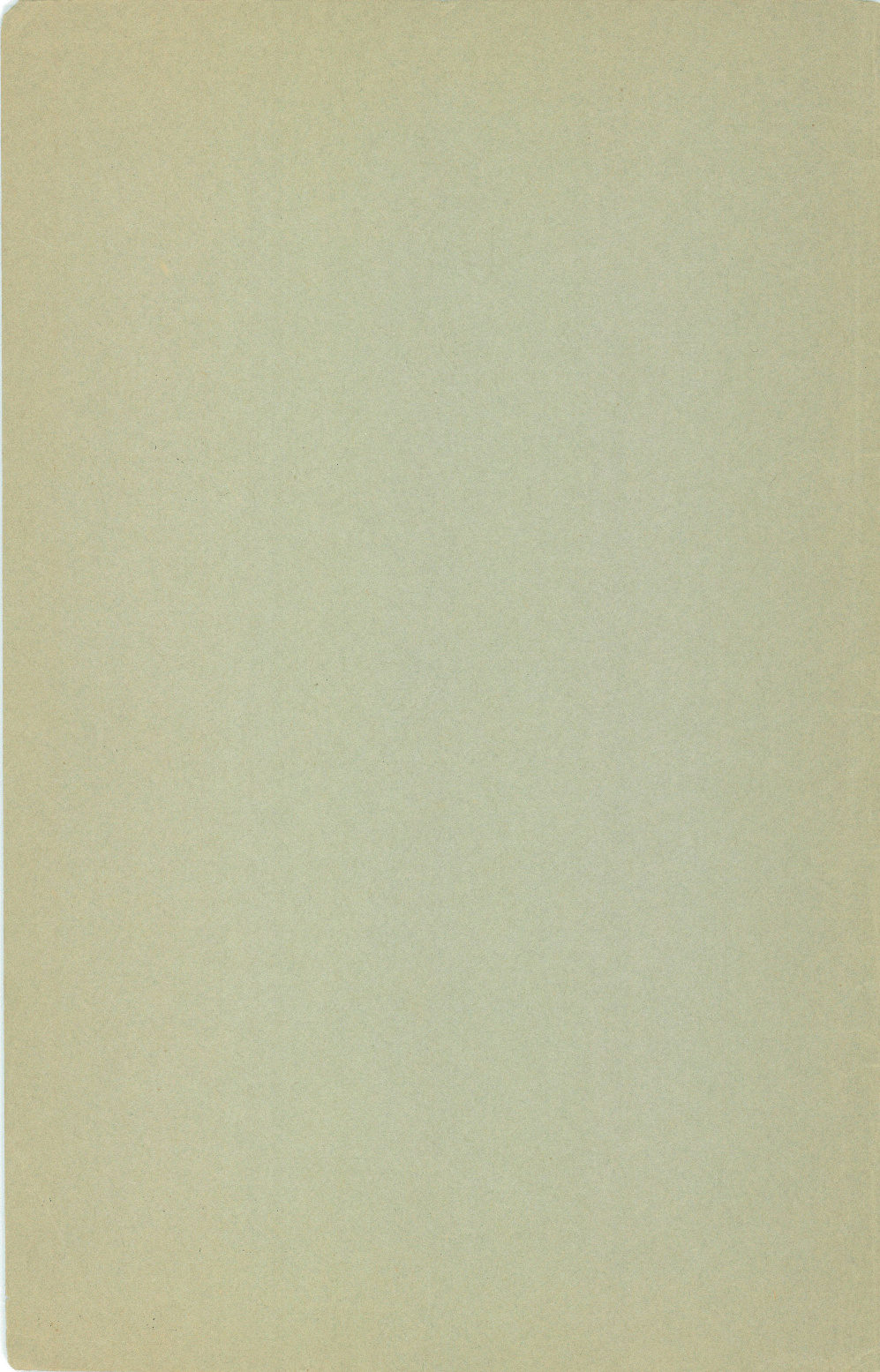
coll

Greek Terror *16* in Aegean Macedonia

A THREAT TO WORLD PEACE AND SECURITY

Published by the
MACEDONIAN AMERICAN PEOPLE'S LEAGUE OF U. S. A.
5856 CHENE STREET, DETROIT, MICHIGAN

PRICE 10 CENTS



PREFACE

A United Nations Balkan Commission is now in Athens to investigate Greek charges that Albania, Yugoslavia and Bulgaria are fomenting civil strife in that country. The Commission was appointed after a spirited debate in the Security Council at Lake Success during which the Yugoslav, Bulgarian and Albanian representatives maintained that the real cause of the civil war in Greece was the monarcho-fascist regime itself which was imposed on the Greek people by Britain.

In reporting the discussion at the Security Council, most of the newspapers leaned heavily on the side of the royalist regime in Athens. Thus, the New York Times, while printing the entire opening speech by Tsaldaris, former Greek Prime Minister, quoted only a few lines of the prompt and vigorous reply by the Yugoslav Ambassador in Washington, Sava Kosanovich. The virtues of fair play and objectivity about which the editors of newspapers write so much were conveniently forgotten.

During the debate the term "Aegean Macedonia" was often heard. This is the part of Macedonia which is under Greece. The Greek royalists called it northern Greece.

There are two other parts of Macedonia. One is called Pirin Macedonia, and occupies the southwestern part of Bulgaria. The other is Vardar Macedonia, now a free Macedonian state. It constitutes one of the six units of the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia. The partitioning of Macedonia among the three Balkan states took place at the end of the Balkan wars of 1912-13 (Treaty of Bucharest).

The material in this pamphlet throws authoritative light on the plight of the people under the rule of the monarcho-fascists of Athens and their policy of ruthless denationalization and extermination of the Macedonian Slavs and Greek anti-fascists.

The Macedonian-American People's League

February, 1947

of U.S.A.

GREEK TERROR IN AEGEAN MACEDONIA

IS A THREAT TO WORLD PEACE AND

SECURITY

M E M O R A N D U M

ON THE PERSECUTION OF MACEDONIAN
SLAVS AND GREEK PATRIOTS, SUBMITTED
TO THE SECURITY COUNCIL OF THE UNITED
NATIONS, LAKE SUCCESS, N. Y. BY THE
NATIONAL COMMITTEE OF THE MACE-
DONIAN-AMERICAN PEOPLE'S LEAGUE

Hon. Trygve Lie, Secretary-General

Dear Sir:

Americans of Macedonian descent have been greatly disturbed by news dispatches concerning the grave abuses by the Greek government against their kinfolk in Aegean Macedonia. On several occasions, Macedonian-Americans have protested and asked both the State Department and the United Nations to intercede and remedy them.

These abuses, however, have grown from bad to worse. Indeed, they have assumed the aspects of a campaign of extermination against the Macedonian Slavs. They have assumed the proportions of mass persecution, terror and summary executions, conveying the inescapable impression that this seems to be the established national policy of the present Greek government.

The National Committee of the Macedonian-American People's League of U.S.A., voicing the concern of the vast majority of Americans of Macedonian descent, calls upon the Security Council to take immediate steps to end the terror and restore the civil and political rights of the people in Greece.

Many of the victims of this terror are our relatives whom we left in native towns and villages when emigrating to the United States. They are our brothers and sisters and old parents; they are people who took an active part in the heroic fight of the Greek people against the Italian and German invaders, thus rendering a valuable service to the Allied cause during the darkest days of the war. That these people should now be called "bandits" and hunted down like beasts by the security police of the present royalist regime of King George II and Premier Constantin Tsaldaris is an insult to the memories of those who fell in the war of the United Nations against the Axis enslavers.

The terror of the organs of the Greek government against the Macedonian Slavs is horrifying. Thousands of men, women and children have already been murdered in cold blood. Others have been thrown into jail or exiled to the islands. About 25,000 have fled as refugees to the neighboring countries of Yugoslavia, Albania and Bulgaria.

Macedonian-Americans, the majority of whom came from Aegean Macedonia, live in fear for the lives of their relatives and friends in that part of the Balkans. Letters are being received daily filled with horror and heartbreaking cries for help. We are in possession of hundreds of such letters, transmitted to us by relatives of the victims of the Greek terror. One of them, Agiris Matsouris, an old Macedonian farmer, writes from Salonika prison:

"Now in my old age I am in prison, condemned for life. The charges were that I am from the village of Vasiliadou and that I speak the Macedonian language. Sixty-five others from our village are also in prison; they are sentenced to heavy terms, eleven of them to death. For the rest, the sentences are five to ten or eighteen to twenty years in prison. This is not all; they cleaned out everything we had, and our people are without clothes and shelter. The rest of the men left the village, also villagers from other places left.

"The charges are that we cooperated with the conqueror for a free Macedonia. Refugees and other compatriots placed these charges against us for the purpose of taking away all our real estate. We are therefore raising our voices to our friends and compatriots to try to get help through your friendly country."

"I cry as I write this letter."

Another prisoner, Kosta Babolas, describes in agony what happened to him and to his friends of the same village in Macedonia:

"On April 3, fifty-six persons were arrested in our village by the home guard, and were sent to prison in Kastoria where after eight months we were sentenced by the quisling government to heavy prison terms. Eleven persons were sentenced to death, I among them, and the rest to life imprisonment and 18 to 20 years. They removed everything from our homes, and our people are in the open. When they arrested me, they shot me in the arm and cut my arm off. But my left hand too is crippled, and my fingers are paralyzed. I

cry as I write this letter. I hope I do not live, but a person cannot die because he wants to. My youngest son Petro is also in prison, and is sentenced to 4 years imprisonment. I do not know what to write, I believe you know all about our village. No men are left there any more, it is very bad. The worst of it is that I lost my arm. Try your best to help me. The main thing is to protest to the consulates about the large-scale evictions conducted against our Slavic compatriots. They drive us out so that they can appropriate our belongings. There is no more to write."

Indeed, what else can they write? Their sufferings under the rule of King George II and Premier Tsaldaris are indescribable.

This state of affairs is a threat to world peace and security. It has already turned Greece into a country of civil war, and has aroused great indignation among freedom-loving peoples all over the world.

The contention of the Tsaldaris government that the present civil strife in Greece is caused by neighboring Balkan countries is made with ill grace, to say the least. The chief aim of this contention is to distract the attention of the outside world from the real causes of the strife, the foremost of which is the government terror itself.

Americans of Macedonian descent, particularly, are horrified at the Nazi-like spectacle of extermination of their people in their native country. Thousands of Macedonian-American businessmen, workers, farmers and professionals read with pain and horror what is happening to their dear ones in Aegean Macedonia.

We are enclosing herewith for your consideration an affidavit by Mr. Blagoy Philips, an American citizen of Gary, Indiana, and Vice-President of our Macedonian-American People's League, in which he tells of the shocking atrocities perpetrated by the organs of the Greek government in his native village against his people.

The number of such cases is endless. They all raise the question: how long will this be allowed to continue; how long will the Greek government be permitted to carry on this policy of extermination of the Macedonian Slavs and Greek democrats?

On behalf of the relatives of the victims of the Greek terror and in the interests of world peace and security, we ask the Security Council of the United Nations to order the government of Premier Tsaldaris to:

1. cease the reign of terror immediately
2. free all political prisoners
3. allow those who have fled the country to return safely to their homes, and
4. restore all democratic rights to the people.

Such a measure on the part of the Security Council will save the lives of thousands of innocent victims and remove a grave threat to the peace in the Balkans and the world as a whole.

NATIONAL COMMITTEE

MACEDONIAN - AMERICAN PEOPLE'S LEAGUE

Smeale Voydanoff, President

George Pirinsky, National Secretary

5856 Chene Street

Detroit, Mich.

December 7, 1946

STATE OF INDIANA)

) SS:

COUNTY OF LAKE)

AFFIDAVIT

Blagoy Philips, being first duly sworn, upon his oath deposes and says that he has continuously resided in the United States since 1913, that he is fifty-two (52) years of age and lives with his wife and two (2) children at R. R. 4, at Valparaiso, Indiana, and is a partner in the wholesale business known as the Gary Shoe Supply Company at 1549 Massachusetts Street in Gary, Indiana, wherein he is and has been for more than the last ten (10) years a partner and manager.

Affiant further says that he is a naturalized American citizen. That his son, Carl, is now serving in the United States Army and that his other son, Philip, is attending school.

Affiant further says that he was born in the village of Dumbeni (Dendrochori), Kastoria County, Macedonia, Greece, from which he emigrated in 1913 and came to the United States.

Affiant further says that he has inherited from his deceased father, Reverend Philip Tarpovsky, and his deceased uncle, Andrea Tarpovsky, real estate together with a house and various out-buildings in the said village.

That on September 18, 19, and 20, 1946, representatives of the present Greek Government and their gestapo assistants of the so-called "Safety Battalion" maliciously demolished and destroyed said inherited house and out-buildings of the affiant herein.

That at the said time the said organizations burned the house and barn in said village, belonging to the affiant's sister, Mrs. Sofia N. Pachkos, and did burn to ashes sixteen (16) houses and seventy (70) barns, most of them property of the relatives and friends of this affiant.

Affiant further says that his brother, Lambro Papa Philipu, was forced to flee from his home in said village and the county to save his life. And that his wife Sofia was arrested, mistreated, and sent in exile to the Island of Korfu with other men and women, being forced to walk from said village to Korfu, which took them two (2) months of walking; and that their two (2) minor daughters, Vaslike and Vangelia, who legally are American citizens through the naturalization of their father, have been arrested, mistreated, and persecuted without any cause or charges, and have not been allowed to correspond with relatives in the United States of America. Wherein an application has been made by the International Institute in Gary, Indiana, and mailed to the American Consul in Greece for the issuance of visas for said minor American citizens.

Affiant further says that the home of his deceased sister, Mrs. Mitra Rizos, has been maliciously demolished by said government forces and their henchmen, and that her son, Yoanis, a veteran teacher, was persecuted, prosecuted, and sentenced to one (1) year in prison on charges that he has fought the pro-fascist elements in Greece. His sentence expired on March 1, 1946, but he is still kept in the jail.

Affiant further states that another relative of his, cousin Dimiter N. Vlahos, same village, on June 12, 1946, was taken from his home to the neighborhood of the nearby village of Gabresh and there was assaulted, soaked with gasoline and burned to death!

Affiant further says that above statements are based upon information received from persons recently arrived from said village in Greece and from letters received from relatives and friends in said village and that affiant further believes that said statements are true, though based on above said information. And that this affidavit is to be used by anyone anywhere, whenever it is necessary to be used for enlightenment to the world and for the purpose of proclaiming, securing and enforcing justice to alive mistreated human beings.

(Signed) **BLAGOY PHILIPS**

Before me, Stephen Maimaroff, a Notary Public in aforesaid County and State, personally appeared Blagoy Philips, to me well known, and acknowledged the execution of the above affidavit as his free act and deed this 4th day of November, 1946.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, I have hereunto subscribed my name and affixed my official seal.

(Signed) **STEPHEN MAIMAROFF**

Notary Public

S E A L

My Commission expires June 17, 1949.

Macedonian Slavs Exiled by the Greek Monarcho-Fascist Regime



The men and women in this picture are from the Macedonian village of Tiolishta (Tehio), the district of Kostur (Kastoria). They are in exile on the Aegean Island of Ikaria. Left to Right: Harici Zanos, Hristo Douloff, Damyan Lebamoff, Sofia Yargova, Anasthasia Gregoff, the Baby, Sotir Trayanoff, Vasilka Trayanova, Damyan Firboff, Anasthas Gregoff and Sotir Gatsoff.



Map of Macedonia showing how it is divided among the Balkan countries.

AEGEAN MACEDONIA

An interview with Dimitar Vlahov, Vice-President of the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia, a Delegate to the General Assembly of the United Nations, former Deputy of the Salonika district in the Turkish Parliament, and Chairman of the People's Front of Macedonia within the framework of the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia.

In view of the great interest towards events in Aegean Macedonia and the charges which the Greek Prime Minister Constantin Tsaldaris lodged with the Security Council against Yugoslavia, Albania and Bulgaria, we took advantage of the presence of Mr. Vlahov at the sessions of the United Nations General Assembly and asked him to throw some light on basic problems regarding Aegean Macedonia.

To the first question, "WHAT IS THE ETHNIC COMPOSITION OF THE POPULATION OF AEGEAN MACEDONIA?" Mr. Vlahov replied:

"Aegean Macedonia, the same as the whole of Macedonia, constituted and still constitutes, despite all the changes brought about by violence, a geographical, national, cultural, ethnic, historical and economic unit, which is well defined. According to unquestionable proof the Aegean Macedonians have, from their arrival up to the beginning of the present century, or more precisely up to 1912, maintained their exclusively Slav character. This is borne out by numerous scientists, writers, political representatives of different European countries in the course of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth century."

Mr. Vlahov cited a great number of French, British, Russian, Czechoslovak and other writers and men of science who observed that Macedonia, with the exception of the Halkidika peninsula and the Kosana district, had a Slav Macedonian population.

"We can state quite openly", Mr. Vlahov pursued, "that Greece has no right whatever to Aegean Macedonia, either ethnographically, geographically, historically, politically, economically or from any other point of view. Under these circumstances one can only be surprised at the lack of scruples and the insolence shown by the Greek imperialists and Fascists."

"Half a century ago, in 1896, Aegean Macedonia had, according to the census based on information given by ecclesiastical and educational authorities, 977,489 inhabitants, including: 365,506 Macedonians (Macedonian Slavs), or 35.5% of the total population; 242,474 Turks or 24.6% of the total population; 225,000 Greeks or 23%; and 144,509 inhabitants of various nationalities—Jews, Albanians, Vallachs of Kuco, Bohemians and others.

"After the Balkan war, the ethnic composition of Macedonia was changed as a result of the exodus of part of the population to Constantinople and Asia Minor, as well as of that part of the Slav Macedonian population which fled before the sanguinary terror exercised in Macedonia by the Greek Army particularly. It is a well-known fact that the town of Kukuch which had a population of 12,000 was destroyed (all the houses and their inmates were burned, the old men were cudgelled to death or compelled to escape); the same fate befell 161 other villages with a total of 16,000 homes.

"After new frontiers had been established in the Balkans in accordance with the Bucharest Treaty of August 10, 1930, numerous Greeks moved into Macedonia from Thrace. In this way the percentage of the Macedonian Slavs diminished; they were the chief victims of the emigration imposed by the Greek chauvinists and imperialists.

"Towards the end of 1920, Aegean Macedonia had a population of 324,002 Macedonians, 162,000 Turks, 287,000 Greeks, and 135,000 inhabitants of other nationalities; the total population amounted to 908,443.

"Even more considerable changes however occurred in this part of Macedonia between 1922 and 1925, in the period of violent persecution which followed the provisional agreement

between Bulgaria and Greece on the exchange of Macedonians from Macedonia for Greeks from Bulgaria, and also the agreement between Turkey and Greece on the exchange of Turks from Macedonia for Greek refugees from Asia Minor and Constantinople after the defeat of Greece in the Greco-Turkish war of 1922.

"According to official Greek figures in 1928, 638,253 refugees with their children were settled in Aegean Macedonia.

"After the changes carried out by violent means in Aegean Macedonia, after the expulsion of the Macedonian population (approximately 150,000 people), more particularly in the eastern part of Aegean Macedonia, this part of Macedonia still had 269,000 Macedonians. In certain districts the Macedonians are a majority, while in three districts they even constitute an absolute majority. Thus, in the district of Lerin, the Macedonians constitute 76.9% of the total population; in the district of Kostur 72.2%; in the district of Voden 54.8%; of Zrles 46.6%; of Djumendjija 42.7%; of Kajlar 32.9%; of Dimirhisar 32.9%; of Jenidje-Vardar 31.3%; of Salonika—not including the town—27.6%; and of Seres 13%.

"It must be emphasized that it was only owing to the tenacity and the resistance of our people that they succeeded in maintaining the above percentages, despite the violent measures to which they were subjected on the part of Balkan and international reaction.

"These figures show beyond the possibility of a doubt that Greece has absolutely no right to Aegean Macedonia which is a Slav land.

"It should be pointed out that in 1912, the Macedonians had a majority over the Greeks in 14 of a total of 20 counties in Aegean Macedonia, while in 8 of these there was not a single Greek, and that 48 out of a total of 54 counties had a Macedonian majority.

"Is it not obvious that the present ethnic structure of Aegean Macedonia is the result of the imperialistic policy of the Greek government as well as the policy of the other imperialistic governments which treated Macedonia as if she were some sort of commodity? That is why Greece has no right whatever to

Aegean Macedonia from an ethnic point of view, not to mention the political, cultural, economic and historical aspects of the question. Aegean Macedonia belongs to the Macedonian people and it is they who should be masters in their own country."

To the second question, "WHAT ARE THE PROPORTIONS ASSUMED BY THE TERROR OF THE MONARCHO-FASCISTS AGAINST THE MACEDONIAN PEOPLE IN AEGEAN MACEDONIA," Mr. Vlahov replied:

"It is quite clear, from all that I have just said, that the Greek imperialistic chauvinists have used all possible means in order to modify the ethnic structure of Aegean Macedonia.

Under the regime of the Greek chauvinists and fascists in Macedonia, our people were subjected to unbelievable terror and to physical extermination. This terror assumed tremendous proportions at the very moment when the fascist invaders were driven out of Greece and Aegean Macedonia by the united efforts of the Greek and Macedonian peoples with the help of the Yugoslav National Army of Liberation. After the Varkiza Agreement, with a foreign Allied (British) Army remaining in Greece, the terror against the Macedonian people increased still further. There are 120 monarcho-fascist bands operating in Greece at the present time. They number 15,000 armed bandits.

They are known under the name of 'Ven' (Union of Royalist Youth), Xistos, Pao (general term for the so-called Greek Liberation Organizations), Edes (organization under Fascist Zervas), the security battalions organized under the occupation with the support of the Cairo government and of other governments.

The chief victims of their attacks and of their looting are the Macedonians.

"In the eastern part of Macedonia there is a whole series of bandits headed by: Andon Ceus, Captain Stamat Dimitriadis, Arventidis, Vimenunis Payanotidis, Iliya Payanotidis, Sterju Lovendues, Kapo Paritis, Talas and others.

"In order to show the proportions which this terror has assumed, it must be pointed out that all along the frontier, which has been crossed by 8,000 refugees who have sought

shelter in Bulgaria, all the villages within a radius of a few kilometers have been devastated while the inhabitants have fled to save their lives.

"It is difficult to describe the terror which is now raging in Greece, and particularly in Aegean Macedonia. In the latter country, 30 to 40 persons fall daily as victims of the Fascist bands organized and supported by the government and tolerated by the foreign governments whose armies are in Greece. In the period preceding the plebescite of September 1 alone, 250 were killed. The Greek monarcho-fascists are endeavoring to drive the Macedonians out of Aegean Macedonia by all the means at their disposal. Their watchword is: 'Macedonia without Macedonians'. Under the pretext that our Macedonian brothers living in Macedonia are engaged in subversive activities against the Greek government, that they are 'Sudets', the monarcho-fascists and imperialists are demanding the expulsion of the Macedonians.

"A number of newspapers have joined in the clamor and are demanding the persecution of the Macedonians. This campaign is endorsed and inspired by the government. A leading part is played by the 'Elefteria', 'Vradini', 'Etnikos', 'Kiriks', 'Katimerini', 'Nea Alitea', 'Etnikos Voras' and others."

90,000 MACEDONIANS TOOK PART IN LIBERATION STRUGGLE OF GREEK PEOPLE

To the third question, "WHAT PART DID THE MACEDONIANS PLAY IN THE STRUGGLE OF THE GREEK PEOPLE AGAINST THE FASCIST INVADERS", Mr. Vlahov replied:

"From the very first day, the Macedonian people in Aegean Macedonia fought against the establishment of a chauvinistic and imperialistic dictatorship. This struggle assumed particularly considerable proportions at the time of the occupation when the Macedonian people in Aegean Macedonia waged a heroic struggle against the invaders. 90,000 Macedonians took part on the side of the Greek people in the national liberation struggle which was being carried on against the invaders and the local traitors. Of these 90,000, 30,700 fought in the ranks

of the National Front. From 1943 to 44, they took part in numerous combats; in the course of 81 clashes, they underwent enormous losses: 2,733 dead, 4,150 deportees in concentration camps, 3,499 houses burned to the ground, while in 38 towns and villages, the entire property of the inhabitants was destroyed. These are the people whom the monarcho-fascists wish to drive out of Macedonia."

HEROISM OF MACEDONIAN PEOPLE IN STRUGGLE FOR FREEDOM

To the fourth question, "WHAT DOES THE PARTICIPATION OF AEGEAN MACEDONIA IN THE STRUGGLE WAGED BY THE GREEK PEOPLE AGAINST THE MONARCHO-FASCIST REGIME CONSIST OF?" Mr. Vlahov replied:

"Shoulder to shoulder with the Greek people, the Macedonian people fought heroically against the Greek monarcho-fascists. They offered a heroic resistance. The heavy sacrifices which they made have in no way impaired their exemplary heroism.

"On June 25 of this year, 7 Macedonians were brought before the Military Court of Jenidze Vardar, and one of them was a teacher from Voden called Irina Cinova. The defendants maintained a dignified and heroic attitude. Irina, when sentenced to death, declared that she was proud to belong to the Liberation Front of Macedonia and to have fought for the liberation of her own and the Greek people.

"There is also the well-know case of the five anti-fascists from the village of Banica near Lerin, with Sofia Zigmanova at their head, who fell after a heroic struggle surrounded by 600 soldiers who had formed three circles. In the course of the fighting, Sofia was wounded 12 times. Her comrades killed themselves with their last cartridges. Sofia was taken to Lerin, and although wounded she was beaten without mercy by the gendarmes. The judge in charge of the trial was struck by her heroic attitude. 'Never in my life', he said, 'have I come across such heroism as that displayed by this young girl.'

"Our brothers and sisters in Aegean Macedonia are fighting heroically for their total liberation. Hand in hand with the Greek people, they are waging a struggle in Aegean Macedonia for a democratic regime in Greece, for the withdrawal of the foreign troops, which are supporting the monarcho-fascists, for their own freedom and for equal rights.

"Greece and particularly Aegean Macedonia are suffering under a fascist regime. At the side of the Greek people, the Macedonian people are offering a gallant resistance.

"Th Greek fascists are compelled to throw half their army into the struggle against the progressive and anti-fascist forces in Greece. Sooner or later, this struggle cannot fail to result in the complete victory of the Greek and Macedonian democratic forces, and this will mean a victory of democracy in the Balkans."

December 13, 1946.

STATEMENT BY SAVA KOSANOVICH,
YUGOSLAV AMBASSADOR TO THE U. S.,
AT UNITED NATIONS SECURITY COUNCIL,
DECEMBER 10, 1946

At a time when the entire freedom-loving world is watching with greatest interest the work in New York of both the United Nations General Assembly and the Council of Foreign Ministers—at a time when the world welcomes with joy every endeavor directed toward increasing harmony, toward bringing about disarmament and a lasting peace—it is such a time that the Government of Mr. Tsaldaris considers appropriate for submitting its memorandum to the Security Council, a memorandum which accuses the neighbors of Greece, and chiefly Yugoslavia, of provoking the civil war which, according both to Mr. Tsaldaris and to numerous correspondents of the world press, rages in Greece today. I submit that it is childish, and hardly adds to the prestige of the regime that rules Greece, to seek to attribute the civil war to influences from her peace-loving neighbors abroad. The responsibility for the present civil war in Greece rests on the fact that the present regime is contrary to the feelings of the Greek people. This regime could not continue to exist, without artificial support from abroad.

To keep the record clear, permit me, before I undertake a brief discussion of Mr. Tsaldaris' memorandum, to draw your attention to the fact that the government of the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia, in a note to the Big Powers on July 18, 1945, proposed that an inquiry be made into the events then taking place in Greece. Such an inquiry, we were sure, would have shown that the civil war in Greece was caused not by the fact that an odd rifle used by some fighter was of Yugoslav, American, German or British origin, but by the political mistakes that have been committed in Greece ever since the war with the Axis ended. The inquiry we proposed was not

made. Why, now, is the subject brought up in a way that seeks to make Yugoslavia concede some degree of culpability?

Yugoslavia, like all other Balkan states and peoples—including of course the people of Greece—cannot but be concerned by the way in which events in Greece are developing. This development has not proceeded along the normal lines of free determination and democratic decisions of the Greek people, which in that case would undoubtedly have conformed to the development of all other Balkan nations. This democratic development was prevented by force, specifically by the presence of foreign troops, even at the cost of provoking civil war. It was attended by the persecution of the democratic elements, and above all of those elements of the Greek people who were the backbone of the resistance movement against Mussolini, Hitler and the collaborationists. And the persecution was particularly brutal against the Slav minority in Aegean Macedonia; even the memorandum now before the Security Council is undemocratic in its description of this minority as "Slav-speaking Greeks."

For more than a year and a half Yugoslavia, which wants only peace and a chance to rebuild after the horrible suffering of the war, has viewed the events along its eastern frontier with concern. A considerable measure of magnanimity, patience and self-restraint was required if these events were not to lead the Yugoslavs to actions which might be irreparable, if the Yugoslavs were not to fall victims to provocations which could have dealt the United Nations a serious blow. It is not necessary to go to Yugoslav sources for evidence that this is so. It is sufficient to glance through the world press, including sections of that press which for various reasons are not friendly to the Yugoslav republic; or to recall some of the debates in the British Parliament.

It can hardly be said that anyone in the democratic world showed much enthusiasm over the prelude to the present situation—the plebescite by which Greece was to achieve restoration of the monarchy—nor over the result of the plebescite, which did restore the monarchy. This lack of enthusiasm lay not because of monarchy as such, but because the basic support

of this monarchy comprised elements known as collaborationist during the war, elements which, on the side of Hitler, waged a life-and-death struggle against democratic forces in Greece at a time when democratic forces in all the United Nations had joined their strength in a common effort. These facts are well-established; their cogency is not diminished by a memorandum so cynical that the best term it could find for a considerable part—I think for the majority of Greek citizens was “bandit”. And these are the citizens who, with such self-sacrifice, fought against Mussolini and Hitler and who now yearn for a better life.

I shall quote only two or three excerpts from the American press. Mr. William King, of the Associated Press, who visited the frontier areas of Yugoslavia and Greece on July 7, 1945, cabled his agency from Bitolj:

“Unofficial estimates today said 10,000 Slavs had fled from northern Greece recently to escape a reign of terror in which Greek armed bands and Greek militia were reported to be sacking entire villages . . . Nearly 2,000 refugees from Greek Macedonia have entered Yugoslav Macedonia through this border town alone, according to the best available information. . . . Asserting that Greek armed bands were using terror and intimidation against them merely ‘because we are Macedonian’, men, women and children, many barefooted and in patched, torn clothes, clamored to tell their stories.”

The New York Times Balkan correspondent, Sam Pope Brewer, reported to his paper on July 7, 1945: “Terror is still being used as an instrument of policy in the Balkans, and at present the Greeks are using it to intimidate the Macedonians of Greece. . . . Here in Bitolj, I have interviewed eighteen refugees, picked at random from 112 of them . . . and the picture formed from the interviews is one of genuine terror and oppression. Whether or not the Greek Government is behind it, there is no question oppression exists.

“These persons have been beaten and robbed of their few pitiful possessions and terrorized into taking the long trek

over the rugged mountains of the frontier country into Yugoslav Macedonia.

"A typical story was told by Dimitri Caskeff, aged 60, a dealer in automobile parts. . . . He had spent ten years in America and could tell his own story in English. Dimitri said that on March 27 a raiding party of Greek soldiers came to his house, seeking his nephew, Boris Caskeff. They fired at the nephew, wounding him in the arm, then shot his wife, Alexandra, dead when she tried to interfere to protect him. They arrested Boris and thirty others, took them away and confiscated the entire stock in Dimitri's shop . . .

"Another case is the village of Krupista, near Kastoria. Giorgi Todorovski, aged 42, a shopkeeper, says that 330 men from a village of 4,000 had been taken to prison in Kastoria. The trouble began April 10, he says, when 300 soldiers surrounded the village during the night while 'colonists'—Greeks brought from Turkey in an exchange of minority populations after the last war—came into the village, drove the inhabitants from their homes and beat them . . .

"Another man who arrived today from Krupista, Iliya Atanasovsky, left Krupista twelve days ago . . . walking through the woods at night. He showed legs covered with scars, which he said came from repeated beatings with sticks and iron ramrods.

"In Lipintz . . . according to Stamat Grabeff . . . trouble was caused by the collaborationists. . . . Grabeff says that when the Greek Elas forces were disarmed, the Greek Government released thirteen men who previously had been arrested by the Elas guerrillas as collaborationists and allowed them to return to the village with arms. On Easter, he says, he fled when he heard the Greeks approaching and firing rifles . . .

"He remained in the mountains some time, then walked over the mountains to Bitolj."

Allow me now to skip eighteen months and to quote from recent issues of the New York Herald Tribune and the New York Times. Gaston Coblenz writes, for instance, in the New York Herald Tribune December 7, 1946: "The 'rebel' mountain village of Koupa . . . is still smoldering after an attack yesterday

by Greek Government forces operating out of this firmly entrenched garrison six miles south of the Greek-Yugoslav frontier. . . . It has taken 24 hours to learn who actually destroyed the village. Greek royalist officers here told two American correspondents who had watched Koupa blazing yesterday, that the village had been fired upon by the 'rebels' in an attempt to terrorize the people of Aegean Macedonia. However, muleteers returning with the government troops from Koupa last night refused to confirm this story and the conversations with ebullient young officers. . . . Major Satorious Popiosnou, commander of the Phanos Garrison, finally said today that his orders had been to carry out a coup de main against this 'rebel' stronghold. . . . He smiled broadly when asked whether the order had been executed successfully . . .

"Two-thirds of the village population of 100 families left with the 'rebels'. . . . The village of Koupa is Slav Macedonian.

"The government troops here all wear British battle dress.

Their uniform is undistinguishable from the British except for an embroidered silver crown and a small brown circle on the garrison cap. The troops are equipped with British mortars, Enfield rifles and tommy guns with American-made ammunition. They use American signal corps telephones and British small-scale maps.

"One of six trucks seen carrying government troops here today bore the marking of UNRRA. None of the officers with whom this correspondent had talked fought as a partisan after the Greek army was demobilized by the Germans.

"A British lieutenant colonel from the British Military Mission in Greece arrived here today and was warmly welcomed at the officers mess. He explained to correspondents that it was necessary for him to take great precautions not to be noticed in this area, so that the Russians will not challenge the British with directing these operations . . .

"The British lieutenant colonel, wearing a royalist crown on his left breast pocket, said his job is to direct the training but not the operations of the Greek army. 'For example', he said, 'we show them when a foxhole is pointed the wrong way.'"
Quotation from Mr. Coblentz.

The same event was described, no less convincingly, by the New York Times correspondent, Arthur Brandel, in the issue of December 7, 1946. He points out:

"It is an interesting fact that no one of the officers of the Phanos Battalion, practically all of whom were professionals with 20 to 25 years of experience, had fought in the resistance against the Nazis after the Greek capitulation. . . . Their hatred of Yugoslavia is vocal. Many said they felt a new war was inevitable and voiced promises of Greek aid to the Anglo-Americans against communist forces." Brandel writes that "only the army had white bread in all Greece and this is made from American and Canadian flour, according to the Phanos officer."

Mr. Brandel, incidentally, begins his New York Times article thus: "There is absolutely no definite proof that Yugoslavia is helping the Greek 'rebels'. . . . Hence there has been a concentration there of Greek effort to root out the 'rebels'. Another reason is an effort by Athens to obtain irrefutable proof of Yugoslav intervention. Everything points to the 'rebels' being allowed to slip over the border easily; if Athens military forces followed they would be shot. But real evidence of either that or actual Yugoslav participation is totally lacking.

"But certainly there is no lack of rumor about Yugoslav participation. There is a constant round of stories to the effect that in each operation soldiers and officers are seen directing these 'rebels'. But when an attempt is made to pin down such stories, they always fail." Quotation from Brandel.

These quotations require no explanation.

In addition to persecuting the democratic elements—representatives of all democratic parties recently sent a letter to Mr. Trygve Lie making clear their opposition to the Tsaldaris regime in connection with the request that British troops be withdrawn from Greece—in addition to this persecution, the Greek government considered in the period from 1944 to 1946 that the time was particularly appropriate to lay claims to Albanian and Bulgarian territory. It did this even at the Paris Peace Conference. Nor is this all. The Greek government even tolerates and encourages propaganda supporting territorial

claims directed against Yugoslavia although it does not venture to question Yugoslavia's part in the struggle against Hitler and Mussolini. The Greek Foreign Minister informed the Yugoslav Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs in September, 1944, that Greece would demand rectification of her frontier with Yugoslavia. Innumerable instances of violent incitement are to be found in the Greek press. I quote three excerpts from sources which cannot be called irresponsible.

General Mazarakis wrote an article in "Ethniki Floga" on June 3, 1946, under the heading "Bitolj and the security of Greece. A vital national claim." He said: "In order to have security Greece must have: 1) Strumica Valley, 2) the Bemir Kepia Gorge, and 3) Morikovo and the mountain plateau north of Bitolj. These places have always been Greek and were from a linguistic point of view endowed with a Greek national consciousness and Greek fanaticism."

On June 3, 1946, General A. Mazarakis, former chief of the general staff and war minister, wrote in the "Hellas": "The Greek-Serbian frontier is unfavorable to Greece and it has several times in the past imperilled the security of Salonika. Greece is not inclined to tolerate this situation. . . . It is high time our Yugoslav neighbor understand that so long as the present boundary is in existence the relation between the two states can never be either sincere or friendly." And Mr. Tsalدارis, himself, just two weeks before he became Prime Minister, wrote in the "Anoksirtissia" on March 18, 1946: "May I be allowed to add something . . . and to start with our national claims which I shall sum up once again as follows: What Greece needs is security on her territory. . . . She does demand security and in order to achieve it she needs rectification of her boundaries, and of course northern Epirus must be restored to the mother country. In short, with regard to the degree of security on the pre-war frontiers the position is as follows: first, between the Ftolja Gulf and the Ionic Sea and Florina security is doubtful; second, between Florina and Vardar there is a total lack of security; third, between the Vardar and the Struma there is practically no security; fourth, between the Struma and the Mesta security is not certain but doubtful; fifth, between the Mesta and the Marica there is absolutely no security."

In today's Times, you could see under the headline, "Greek to appeal to Big Four on Border". It is Mr. Tsaldaris' statement in the same spirit.

(I remark in passing that the Yugoslav territory here involved had in 1912—not according to Yugoslav statistics, of course—a population of 188,380, of whom 210—I repeat, 210—were Greeks).

Meanwhile certain circles in Greece and abroad were carrying out a great mystification against Yugoslavia, aiming to incite chauvinism, to strengthen reaction, as though Yugoslavia threatens the territorial integrity of Greece. I wish again to assert most categorically that this is not true. Neither the Yugoslav government, nor the National Front organization in Skoplje in Yugoslav Macedonia has made any territorial claims against Greece in any form whatsoever. Nobody from Yugoslavia is trying to impose some special regime in Greece. It is true that the sympathies of the Yugoslav peoples are on the side of the democratic forces within Greece. But that is no crime. That does not imperil the integrity of Greece. In our opinion, democracy is the best safeguard of Greek integrity.

I feel I should point out here that even today the Greek army and gendarmerie include considerable numbers of officers who served under German command during the war. I am in a position to furnish a list of some extremely flagrant instances of this to anyone interested.

Gentlemen, these are our general observations on the memorandum submitted to you by the government of Mr. Tsaldaris, accusing Yugoslavia, Albania and Bulgaria of endangering the peace.

It is not necessary to refute in detail the different assertions contained in the memorandum. Its mistaken, unsubstantiated and unscrupulous character is perfectly obvious, at this moment of such great importance in the life of the United Nations.

I shall refer to only three of the details contained in this memorandum. On page 8, Mr. Tsaldaris asserts that on October 20, 1946, at 7 a.m.—I quote:

"A Yugoslav coastal craft armed with a machine gun penetrated 300 meters into the Greek territorial waters of Lake Dorian." Page 8. "The Yugoslav crew arrested nine Greek fishing boats and their crews numbering eighteen men in all. It was not until November 8 that they were set free, together with their boats. The Greek Government lodged an official protest with the Yugoslav Government."

In actual fact, however, the Yugoslav Government rejected the Greek protest as unfounded, because the Greek fishing boats had penetrated 300 meters into Yugoslav territorial waters. This was the reason why the Yugoslav coastal craft arrested them. This was duly registered in the Protocol signed by the Greek fishermen. The Greek Legation then sent a note in which it admitted the possibility that the events had actually taken place in this way and asked that the incident be dismissed on a friendly basis, and that the Greek fishermen be released; this we did. I shall give the number and the date of this note subsequently, as soon as I obtain them from Belgrade.

As regards the refugee camp of Bulkes—which is located in Vojvedina, in northern Yugoslavia, about 700 kilometers from the Greek frontier—where several thousand Greek refugees have been living for over 18 months, the memorandum endeavors to make it appear that this was a mysterious camp in which military preparations are going on and which is involved in constant traffic to and from Greece. Mr. Tsaldaris said a militaristic academy. On page 28 the memorandum states, I quote: "The camp had never been visited by any American or British persons." At one time, however, the Greek government had officially contended that Yugoslav assertions regarding Greek refugees in Yugoslavia were mere propaganda against Greece, and that it was not true that there were Greek refugees in Yugoslavia. The Yugoslav Ministry of Information refuted this contention in an official statement, which showed that there were approximately 20,000 refugees from Greece in Yugoslavia, of whom some 4,000 were in Bulkes. In order to give confirmation of this I, as Minister of Information at that time, sent numerous American and British correspondents to visit this Bulkes camp on various occasions starting in the summer of 1945. These correspondents included Morphopoulos of News-

week, King, Brewer, Shapiro, Davis, of the Associated Press, United Press, Reuters, Times, etc.

Allow me finally to give you a third example of this unscrupulousness on the part of Mr. Tsaldaris' Government. You will find it on page 25 of the memorandum. "The pupils of the school constituted the units known under the name of 'Zacharidius Brigade', 'Elas Brigade', etc., which are now employed on the construction of the railway line of Brcko-Banovic along the Dalmatian seacoast in the direction of the Albanian boundary." Mr. Tsaldaris may have intended to produce his most powerful argument here—the construction of a strategic railway line along the Adriatic Coast in the direction of the Albanian frontier. Actually, this was a voluntary undertaking of Yugoslav youth, who decided to construct 90 kilometers of railway line in order to link a coal mine with the main railway. This railroad has already been completed by the young people. I should like to ask you, gentlemen, to look at the map.

You will see that this railway line is situated in the central part of Yugoslavia about four hundred kilometers from the sea and five hundred kilometers from the Albanian border. Mr. Tsaldaris' description is as accurate as if somebody here in America said, in connection with a few score miles of railway line near Pittsburgh, that it ran along the Pacific Coast and constituted a threat to the security of Mexico.

I hope these instances may help you assess the weight to be attached to other, less important, arguments. It was this persistent attitude of provocation that forced my Government to break off diplomatic relations with Greece. I hope I will have the opportunity to express, Mr. President, the facts about the military encroachment, the military violation of the Yugoslav borders by Greek forces, the concentration of quisling organizations, of quisling forces in Greece with tendencies against Yugoslavia.

Now, may I ask you, gentlemen, to observe the photostatic copies of documents presented to you to prove the seriousness of the accusations which Mr. Tsaldaris makes against Yugoslavia, Albania and Bulgaria. Translations are omitted. Otherwise it would be immediately evident how unscrupulous this

work is, in its attempt to mislead this high guardian of the peace and compromise its authority.

Twenty-three—if I have counted correctly—of these photostats are of papers which could have been written by anyone. There is no evidence of authenticity, there are no signatures, no signs of the identity of the authors. Persons everywhere who respect law and the truth must feel indignation to see such questionable material offered in so serious a way to such a high forum as evidence against friendly nations.

There are some identification cards issued by Yugoslav border authorities. Supposing that the mentioned names were not later forged, this could only be proof that the Yugoslav authorities are organized and functioning, which is not the case on the other side of the border.

On page 25 there is a picture of a military cap which the memorandum states is a Yugoslav military cap with Yugoslav badges. I request that you ask any military expert about this; he will confirm that the Yugoslav army does not have this badge on the left side of the cap as shown in the photograph. The Yugoslav Army wears only a five point star at the front of the cap, never on the side. It is a common custom among soldiers to collect Allied insignia and pin them on their caps.

May I draw your attention particularly to pages 11 and 14 of these photostatic documents. Permit me to translate for you from the Macedonian what is written on these pages, since Mr. Tsaldaris failed to do so. These are a few typical lines from this important document:

“God bless you, Mother. God bless you, Father. God bless you, Homeland. I am leaving my dear Mother to die in bloody battle. God bless you, Mom, God bless you, Dad, I must leave you, dear Mom, and my soul I deliver to the Almighty to save it.” And much more to the same effect. Comments would be superfluous.

May I be allowed here to quote from an article Mr. Coblenz wrote in the New York Herald Tribune on December 8, 1946: “An American military observer said today, however, that it had been difficult to impress on the officers of the Greek Corps

here that proofs of Yugoslav intervention forwarded to the Athens Government to be placed before the United Nations must be irrefutable. 'The proofs which the Greeks have so far shown us in Macedonia are by no means certain,' he said. 'Some of the evidence is childish, such as Yugoslav medals found on dead rebels who wear them because they are pretty.'"

Before concluding, I should like to repeat that the Government of the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia considers that developments in Greece constitute a danger to peace and that the Civil War being waged in Greece—not merely in the vicinity of the northern boundary but even in the Peloponese—is not provoked by foreign influences but by the course Greek home policy has taken, and by the endeavor to stifle forcibly the democratic elements of the Greek nation, which are certainly the majority, and which desire better relations with their neighbors, particularly Yugoslavia, as the Yugoslav peoples also desire them. This has been well expressed by Dimitar Vlahov, Vice-Chairman of the Presidium of the Yugoslav National Assembly and President of the Peoples Front in Macedonia, in the statement he made September 11, 1946, at the Paris Peace Conference:

"Yugoslavia's entire policy toward Greece is evidence of our ardent desire to see the Greek people achieve the freedom and democracy which they have fought so valiantly, and to see them linked in cordial friendship with the other Balkan peoples. What we are obliged to fight against are the imperialistic designs of the ruling circles. These designs have no connection whatsoever with the interests of Greece nor with those of the Greek people, but are in direct opposition to them, just as they are opposed to the interests of all other Balkan peoples."

It is along the Greek border alone that there are incidents today. Along the Albanian-Greek frontier, along the Bulgarian-Greek frontier, along the Yugoslav-Greek frontier, and nowhere else. The conclusion, I think, is obvious. The causes cannot be sought outside Greece.

This discussion, I am sure, will enable the Security Council to see again that it is within Greece that there exists a breeding-ground of disturbances that imperils the peaceful and friendly development of Eastern Europe. According to official returns,

the present Greek regime, in spite of terrorism and questionable election practices, was able to announce it had obtained the support of hardly twenty-six percent of the electorate. In its weakness, it strives increasingly to stifle the will of the people, to divert their attention by casting suspicion on their neighbors, to incite chauvinism and to provoke civil war. The situation is even more serious because England, which supports Mr. Tsaldaris and still maintains troops in Greece, although the war in Greece was over two years ago, must share in the responsibility. The presence of these foreign troops artificially supporting a weak regime, has prevented the Greek people from expressing their true will and has sharpened all the conflicts inside that unhappy country. As soon as these causes are removed, the effects which disturb us all today will disappear.

As you see, gentlemen, the Tsaldaris accusations against Albania, Bulgaria and Yugoslavia have no basis in fact. They are false and insidious, intended only to confuse the long suffering people of Greece and mislead democratic public opinion throughout the world. There are no grounds whatsoever for an inquiry based upon allegations that Yugoslavia, Albania and Bulgaria are interfering in the internal affairs of Greece. That would be a misleading way in which to approach this problem. What this whole situation requires is an investigation of conditions inside Greece at the earliest possible moment, and that is what we now propose to you gentlemen. This, I am confident, will show where the causes of the present violent civil strife within Greece lie. It will, beyond doubt, lead to a positive solution of this problem.

May I point out that this is the third time in the brief life of the Security Council that the Tsaldaris Government has been brought up for discussion. Once this discussion was timed to coincide with the Paris Peace Conference. Now it is timed to coincide with the United Nations Assembly session. Is the continued existence of this regime really of such vital importance to world peace?

(During the translation into French of this speech, Mr. Kosanovich made the following correction—instead of “to break off diplomatic relations”, it should be “to recall our Minister from Greece.”)

